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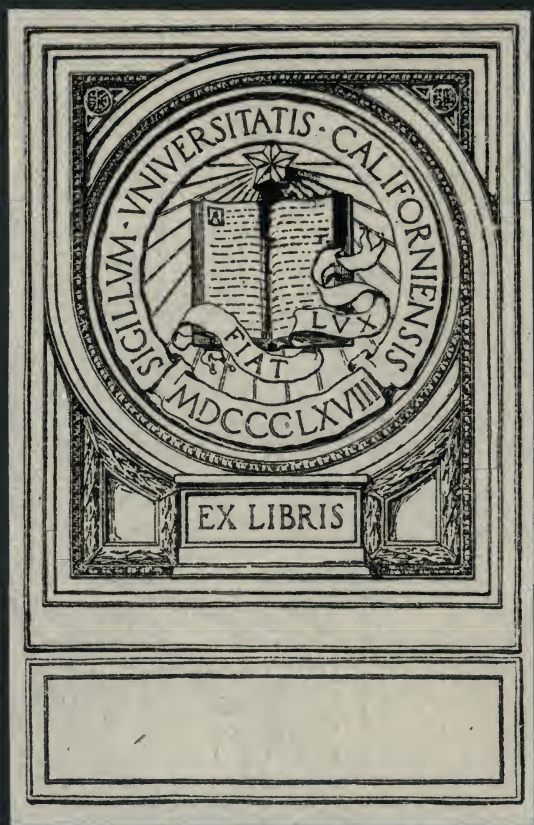
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INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

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ABSTRACT

INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

A—INTRODUCTORY

The overshadowing importance of industrial peace. Cost of industrial warfare to employer, workman, the public. Disharmonies due to increasing industrialism and the growth of democratic ideas. "In the industrial world, there is no question of equal importance to that of the relationship of employers and employed, and not one in such an unsatisfactory position." (*Sir George Livesey*).

B—CAUSES OF INDUSTRIAL DISCORD

I. INFLUENCE OF PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

1. The Dependence of Mankind upon Physical Nature. Lack of harmony between man and his natural environment. The conquest of nature creates differences in needs and ideals, causing conflict between man and man. Antagonism of interests growing out of economic scarcity. "*The omnipresence of the universal cosmic conditions around and within every human motion* is the first prime factor to be estimated at its actual relative worth in every analysis of an individual act or of a group status." (*A. W. Small*).

II. ECONOMIC ANTAGONISMS

1. Disharmonies Due to the Growth of Population and Migrations. The multiplication of numbers, the indefinite expansion of human wants, and economic scarcity. Factors controlling the distribution of population. Natural and stimulated migrations. Ill-distributed population and exploitation. Intensified conflicts resulting from labor immobility and industrial concentration.

2. Antagonisms Caused by the Growth of Capital. (a) *Investors versus entrepreneurs*. (b) *Employers versus employees*. Capital mass weakens the personal relationship. Capitalism means indirect operations; prolonged preparation; enlarged, complex, automatic machinery and processes; probable over-investment of new capital; wage reductions and involuntary unemployment. Does the growth of capital, causing collective disagreements, demand collective bargaining?

3. Antagonisms Due to Changes in Methods of Production. Opposition between capitalists; between entrepreneurs and organized labor; between capitalists and laborers *versus* the public. Labor discords due to substitutions,—new materials, new processes, new machines, new sources of power. Union *versus* unorganized labor, union *versus* union, unskilled *versus* skilled; displacement of men by women, women by men, adult by juvenile labor. Serious antagonisms arise from the *immediate* effects of changes upon *individual* laborers, due to redistribution and destruction of individual quality (anxious insecurity, growing sense of dependence), and from the lack of any adequate system of measuring industrial energy.

4. Conflicts due to Changes in the Forms of Industrial Organization and Business Management. (a) *Friction between trades and groups of trades.* Bonds of harmony and antagonisms between extractive, manufacturing, and distributive processes. Bitter opposition between associations of employers and wage earners; between trade unions and industrial unionism (I. W. W.). Is the industrial type of unionism likely to adopt the closed shop policy? (b) *Pecuniary versus industrial occupations.* Differences in habit of thought arise between those engaged in (i) business or pecuniary, (ii) industrial or mechanical employments. Diverse disciplinary influence of materio-economic environment leads to differences in fundamental postulates. "Human personality—will, caprice, cunning,—legality, moral strength or weakness, pecuniary energy, form the basis of the fundamental economic notions of the capitalist-employer." (*Hoxie*). Physical contact (material and personal) causes group consciousness among the wage earners. "The most momentous and striking fact of the industrial revolution is the growing sense of solidarity of the labor world." (*J. H. Gray*). Are the stratifications within big businesses increasing, and do they make it impossible for the employing and wage-earning classes to agree in regard to industrial justice? (c) *Large scale management has intensified the need of human conservation.* Preventable sources of discord,—hazardous vocation choosing, premature employment, women working under destructive conditions, hazardous and unhealthy occupations, long hours, industrial overstrain, mis-, under-, and un-employment, speed, monotony and over-specialization, unscientific methods of employment, promotion, and discharge,—all fruitful sources of industrial warfare. "The large scale industries of our day call for semi-military organization,—for punctuality, prompt obedience, submission to orders. Discipline in the employer's hands rests on the power of discharge." (*F. W. Taussig*). "Factory discipline is valuable only up to a certain point, after which something else must be depended on if the best results are to be achieved." (*Jane Addams*). (d) *Antagonisms due to predatory management.* Stock gambling, unscrupulous management,

certain forms of business secrecy. Powerlessness of stockholders to exercise effective control. (e) *Artificial monopolization*. Causes antagonisms between competing employers, between different groups of laborers, employers and laborers, and bitter antagonisms between employers and the community at large. Does diversity of interests necessarily mean *personal* hostility? Does large-scale management create, apportion, and maintain equality of economic opportunity? Does large-scale management reach a maximum of efficiency before it reaches a maximum of possible size?

5. Conflicts arise from the Indefinite Extensibility of Consumers' wants. The stimulation of new wants,—physical, intellectual, æsthetic—and the means of satisfying them. Capital and labor readjustments, due to changes in consumption, cause constant friction. Artificial stimulation of wants leads to alternating periods of business activity and depression—misdirected effort, over-exertion, unemployment, human waste, industrial warfare.

6. Industrial Autocracy. "Economic absolutism, however beneficent it may be, or however much it may increase wages, is inconsistent with the democratic movement of the last hundred and fifty years. . . . The workman believes that absolutism is as dead in industry as in government. . . . the great impending changes are in the direction of greater democracy in industry." (*J. H. Gray*). What are the advantages and difficulties of industrial absolutism? Does industrial peace necessarily mean greater coöperation with trade unions?

III. SOCIO-POLITICAL ANTAGONISMS

Introduction. Mental habits linger after economic conditions causing them have disappeared. Strife is caused by mistaking the *means* (various social institutions) for the *end* (social utility).

1. Social Status. Chief causes of class stratification and social disharmonies: age, sex, race, differentiation in occupation, property ownership, income, love of power, original differences of habits, limitations of human nature, complexity of human motives. Property ownership, capital connection, nepotism, class prejudices form struggle factors of the first rank. Diversity of laws and methods of administration cause social and political discord. "The complexity of the social conflict is perhaps nowhere more observable than in connection with the phenomena of capital." (*A. B. Small*).

2. Prejudices of Race and Nationality. Economic, political and social antagonisms due to race feeling and to racial displacements—negroes, Chinese, and unskilled immigrants. Race antagonisms in American mines, railways, and factories. Difficulties in establishing rel-

ative standards of race value. "The fact is that no race *per se*, whether Slovak, Ruthenian, Turk or Chinese, is dangerous and none undesirable; but only those individuals whose somatic traits or germinal determiners are, from the standpoint of our social life, bad." (*C. B. Davenport*). "We cannot afford to pay heed to whether he [the immigrant] is of one creed or another, of one nation or another . . . what we should desire to find out is *the individual quality of the individual man*." (*Roosevelt*). Should the results of recent immigration be chiefly considered in their economic or in their socio-political aspects?

3. Language Barriers. The difficulties of assimilation. Are different languages likely to become the rallying centres of conflicting interests?

4. Religious Animosities. Evidences of, in occupation, in education, in politics.

C—GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR THE PROMOTION OF INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

1. There is no Single Panacea for Industrial and Social Antagonisms. "It can never be shown generally. . . that the interests of master and laborer are alike, or that they are opposed; for, according to circumstances, they may be either." (*Ruskin*).

2. Protection of Material Interests: Governmental Supervision and Control of Sub-Normal Work Conditions. "Industrial Minl-mums." Wages, employment of women and children, trade injuries, occupational disease, industrial overstrain, misemployment, involuntary unemployment, compulsory compensation by compulsory insurance and pensions, publicity.

3. Restraining Power of Elements Representing Conflicting Interests. Employers, workmen, the public. Progressive development of power of *self-restraint* in each group.

4. Vocational Guidance. (a) *The determination of individual aptitudes.* (b) *Freedom of choice of occupation.* (c) *Equal opportunity for the application of individual aptitudes* in (i) education, (ii) occupation. "The removal of all artificial barriers to choice of occupation is the most important goal for society." (*F. W. Taussig*). "The first condition of an efficient organization of industry is that it should keep everyone employed at such work as his abilities and training fit him to do well." (*Marshall*).

5. Just Distribution of the Surplus Product. "The abuse or uneconomical use of the surplus product is the source of every sort of trouble or malady of the industrial system, and the whole problem of industrial reform may be conceived in terms of a truly economical disposal of this surplus." (*J. A. Hobson*).

6. The Development of Economic Chivalry. Development of the three-fold trusteeship of corporate capital—labor, capital, the public. "The subordination of distinctly economic activities and wealth to a wider conception of social activity and wealth." (*J. A. Hobson*). The guardianship of a wise public opinion is essential to industrial and social justice.

7. Constitutionalism in Industry. Copartnership in self-interests, in aptitudes, in profits, in control. "True democracy is that which permits each individual to put forth his maximum of effort." (*C. W. Eliot*). "You [the laborer] were a slave, then a serf, next a wage hireling, and you must ultimately become a partner." (*Mazzini*). "The system which comes nearest to calling out all the self-interests and using all the faculties and sharing all the benefits will out-compete any system that strikes a lower level of motive faculty and profit." (*H. D. Lloyd*). "There is not a more accurate test of the progress of civilization than the progress of the power of coöperation." (*J. S. Mill*).

D—MEASURES DESIGNED TO SECURE SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL PEACE

Introduction. The need of reliable information. Difficulties of investigation: misunderstandings; personal prejudices—economic, political, religious; inertia—ignorance, indifference, custom; complexity of the economic relations and human motives—desire for gain, activity, love of power, sympathy, pity, affection, altruism; highly dynamic character of American society.

I. PALLIATIVES

1. Under Private Auspices. (a) *Various efficiency schemes:* profit sharing, gain sharing, premium plans, sliding scales, welfare inventions, scientific management. Accomplishments. Reasons for failures,—mutual distrust, vagueness and remoteness of promised reward, autocratic management. (b) *Conciliation, mediation, and arbitration boards.* Temporary and permanent tribunals. Types of adjudication,—England, France, the United States. Advantages and weaknesses. Trades and Workers Association.

2. Under Public Auspices. Conciliation, mediation, and arbitration tribunals. Voluntary and compulsory. Types,—New Zealand, Australia, Europe, the United States. Difficulties of arbitration: the ascertaining of adequate and accurate data, selection of satisfactory arbitrators, withholding from arbitral adjudication disputes involving a principle (closed shop, recognition of the union), no definite principle of justice in the adjustment of wages by arbitration. *The Erdmann Act*: causes of success,—weariness of industrial strife, recognition of the right of collective bargaining, voluntary settlement, freedom from court-like judgments, causes friendly feelings, personality of the arbitrators. Recent activity of Congress in behalf of industrial peace. How enforce arbitration decisions when they go against the laborers?

II. CORRECTIVE MEASURES

1. The Extension of Trade Unionism. "The trade agreement holds out the greatest hope for industrial peace in the future." (*C. D. Wright*).

2. Scientific Control of Immigration. Proposed measures of control: literacy tests, inspection abroad, physical standardization, minimum wage, social amalgamation, eugenic selection.

3. Human Conservation. Protection of child and woman, prevention of work hazards, elimination of overstrain, promotion of industrial hygiene, adequate compensation or insurance, and pensions.

4. Equitable Labor Remuneration. Coöperative enterprises, labor copartnership. Complexities of accurate measurements and just rewards of individual differences.

5. Compulsory Investigation of Industrial Disputes. Canadian experience. American efforts. Tentative bill of the Industrial Relations Committee of the Boston Chamber of Commerce.

6. Co-operative Efforts in Behalf of Industrial Harmony. American Association for Labor Legislation, National Civic Federation, Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

7. Vocational Guidance. Functions of, in promoting social and industrial justice.

8. The Right Sort of Control. Intelligent, honest, vigilant industrial leadership, combined with non-partisan, thorough, patient, and courageous legislation.

E—SUGGESTED TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Industrial warfare: (*a*) recent new causes of industrial conflict; (*b*) new counteracting, harmonizing forces.
2. The cost of industrial warfare: (*a*) to employer, (*b*) to laborer, (*c*) to the public.
3. The influence of industrial concentration upon labor: (*a*) the rate of wages; (*b*) the amount of employment; (*c*) continuity of employment; (*d*) length of the working day; (*e*) opportunities for the laborers to exploit their varied aptitudes.
4. The nature and sources of capitalistic power: power over goods and services, over the press, and over public sentiment.
5. The conservation of workers in the continuous employments: (*a*) classification of the continuous industries; (*b*) number of wage earners; (*c*) work conditions; (*d*) the right to wholesome, constructive leisure.
6. The decasualization of casual (intermittent) employments: (*a*) classification of the employments; (*b*) number of employees—men, women, children; (*c*) how regularize.
7. Labor conditions in the iron and steel industry: (*a*) living wage; (*b*) erratic employments; (*c*) substitutions; (*d*) methods of remuneration; (*e*) attitude toward trade unions.
8. Occupational diseases: (*a*) classification of health-destroying materials; (*b*) the promotion of industrial hygiene.
9. Scientific methods of hiring and promoting workmen. How far are the employing classes recruited from the ranks of the wage earners?
10. Efficiency schemes: (*a*) profit and stock sharing—recent extensions in England and the United States; (*b*) scientific management—successes and difficulties in (*i*) private establishments, (*ii*) public management.
11. Recent growth of associations of (*a*) employers, (*b*) wage earners. Extent and results of methods of collective bargaining.
12. Industrial peace agencies: (*a*) list of institutions, societies, associations engaged in industrial peace work; (*b*) publications devoted to the same; (*c*) critical examination of the character and value of each.
13. The most equitable methods of wage payments.
14. The Erdmann Act: (*a*) reasons for success in the railway industry; (*b*) its possible extended application and uses to other than the railway industry.
15. Schemes of compulsory investigation: (*a*) Canadian experience; (*b*) Experience of American commonwealths; (*c*) proposed bill of the Industrial Relations Committee of the Boston Chamber of Commerce.

16. Thrift agencies in industrial establishments: savings and loan associations, mutual benefit societies, old age annuities, etc.
17. Advertising: (a) new methods; (b) social gain and loss.
18. Control of immigration: (a) economic, political, and social difficulties; (b) proposed measures of control.
19. Vocational guidance: (a) private experiments; (b) beginnings in public school systems; (c) best schemes of education for vocational purposes; (d) literature of vocational direction.
20. Industrial democracy: (a) experiments in representative government in industry; (b) literature of industrial copartnership.

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